/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
• 192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Tarradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101, Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human

[192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional.

[173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must

[824] submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai

[273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/81 cont./

177. What has been said about the modesty of the Indians and (by analogy) of their moral feelings and what has been briefly noted concerning their language is enough to form an idea of their spiritual culture; now the study of their physical inventions will complete the view of their material culture, which, however rudimentary it may be, will always speak to us very highly of its authors. "The most simple and crude of instruments and utensils discovered in the areas where lived and worked men of the first ages reveals to us the presence and action of a mind which knew the relationship between cause and effect, deducing from it another relationship, that of means and end.... No animal ever did so much, crossing the Rubicon from the shore of instinct to the shore of reason." (Msgr. Fernández Valbuena.)

By the manner in which the question is asked us, it is seen that our questioner is not one of those whose opinion is that Indians are "one more animal" or that "they live like real flocks of animals," but rather that he supposes that they have some culture and wants to know how much it is. Happily, it is thus: The Pemón Indians, whose material advance is not great if compared with ours, do not fail to have an appreciable culture and one worthy of study. /82/ The mere enumeration of words referring to instruments and utensils would fill several pages.

The material culture of these Indians has been most minutely studied by Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson in his book Los Kamarakotos and before him and with greater perfection by T. Koch-Grünberg in his monumental work Von Roroima zun Orinoco /From Roroima to the Orinoco/. (To be sure in the study of their language and psychology we do not believe these to be so correct nor can we recommend them unconditionally, especially the first of them.)

178. Well then, whoever may wish more details and minutiae can find them in the afore-mentioned authors about the things we shall hereafter list and others as well. Hunting

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

● 192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

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[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

● 192 825 197 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

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CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:rē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:rē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupiriri*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

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tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripai'*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*alikɨ* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas?*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:wē*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta seniculus*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

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192 197 825 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremā*. Taurepán *waremɨ*. Makuchi (Williams) *tamaːnowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamanoːa*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremā* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walīli* as Kaliña tor *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA[3]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksiːpulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *meːri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

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tyla") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremã* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *mu:ru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimẽ*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

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Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

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closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, certainly use the same word only for the spiny rats.

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mömbë*. Taurepán *mömbë*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulüya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pë* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mömbë* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mömbë*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mömbë* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mömbë*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulüya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pë* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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CARNIVORA

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsă*. Taurepán *kaikusă*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*.—Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimõraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

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records of native nomenclature of the otters are otherwise very confusing. See *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of

[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the

[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in

[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p. 9-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 9-B]

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Taurepan

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825

each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

SIRENIA

early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatē*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusaːri*, *usaːri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usaːri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukē*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

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192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "chácharo," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]
[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
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Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Span-
825 ish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamara-koto *po-inga, poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga, piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[p. 10-B]

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*.

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see.

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarily and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc.

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is".

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are:

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

● 192

/For a comprehensive listing of Kamarakoto vocabulary, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 38-52, 70-77, 92-100./

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 – Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 197 128 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 197 114 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly close transcription. [104] To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 – Analyst]

*197 825 262

330. •"Chupacacáo" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. •"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʾ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʾ) — kurinata.
333. •"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, "Podager nacunda, the Nacunda nighthawk."

*197 825

c. Reptiles.

334. •Snake (in general) — okōi. Taurepán, ōkōi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʾ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.
342. •Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. •Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʾ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sergbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiʾ.
351. •Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — akaːre. Taurepán, akare. (Koch-Grünberg) yakaːre. This is a Tupí, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages. [192]
352. •Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kuraːtu. Taurepán, kuratu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʾma.
354. Toad — pōlɛːa (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written pōlɛa). Taurepán, pōreu-tukuʾ.

[78] [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish. 79

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

[172]
[192]

79 [see footnote on pp 215-16, category 116 — Analyst].

*197 824 241 192

simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

*197 824 241

394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — tsigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — marí-paima. Taurepán maripaime.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anai?.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakai?

407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupai?

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation.[90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease,[91] although it is by no means an identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of *197 194 common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán, Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak müi = Taurepán yenegam: shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is ●192 from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taure-
●192 pán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from com-
pletely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different
ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in
Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The
further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some impor-
tance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and
incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified
form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist
today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy
will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a
language that may be called Arekuna.

101 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who
114 were not Maquiritares were called Arekumas. Koch-Grünberg divided them in-
to Arekumas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the
Taurepánes were the only Arekumas that he happened to know at first hand, and
he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Are-
kumas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vo-
cabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture)
of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing
as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxo-
nomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's
classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Are-
kumas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them
Arekumas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name
Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the
Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekumas and only gave the
more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each
other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that
name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekumas,
even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and
call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana
and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekumas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is
sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass
of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there
a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[192] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos,
which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects,
have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

92 [see footnote on p 317, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 114 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 242 423 721 185 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 172 439 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[283] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[481] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[534] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.
114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 411 [283] [237] shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usually tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer, by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 227 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 ●192 197 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	otapa	otəpa
	pangai'	pəngə'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 ●192 197

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
	(Not observed)	(in)mõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
	pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pəkaːra (basketwork purse).
Baskets.		
	waricha	waikarapə, variety chimaran.
	warakapi	(Not observed).
	(Not observed)	shimuˀ (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
	tsimuiˀ	tsarambə
	sokoˀ	sokoˀ
	wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
	amaːtu	damaːtu
Miscellaneous.		
	tangõiˀ	təngõiˀ, tenkei[160]
	akaiˀ, koataiˀ	akaiˀ
	mõi-yɛ	mõi-yɛ
	muroiˀ	muroiˀ

*285 531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e.g. in a matuːtu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analysis]

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands [824] are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [237] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamarakotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map. liana bridges especially typifying northwestern South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).

Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yé?, probably a species of Nectandra. Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

101 5. They were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is 101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred 192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1918.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

7 [i.e. the Acawai – Ed.]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camara-coto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

●192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta:ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)malɛ (= murɛ) as Ingarikó and unlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

[1] [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawõra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

824 241 197 114 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

●192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 [197] 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-məda, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^{9}-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 127 114 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.

193 127 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 153 195 192 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter. This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but apparently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 192 [439] 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 114 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekumas were forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 [103] [197] [114] 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call them the Arekumas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become) the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 114 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [226] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kõsura.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the